

Codebook – A Wolf in Sheep’s Clothing

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SYS_id: survey respondents’ numeric identifiers.

v_undem: self-placement in a scale running from 1 (“Reforms will make governments more accountable and effective”) to 10 (“Reforms are an undemocratic way to weaken the opposition and allow the rulers to stay in power”) as a response to the following vignette:

Electoral reforms have been initiated in several countries. They consist of introducing single-member districts, meaning that only one candidate can be elected from a given constituency - the one who receives the most votes. As a result, on the scale of the whole country, candidates supported by large parties have greater chances of being elected than candidates of small parties. Some believe that this solution strengthens democracy because it enables large parties to govern effectively. Others believe that this solution weakens democracy by making it difficult for smaller parties to participate in governance.

pis: intention to vote for PiS if elections were held on Sunday, by answering the question “If you could vote in the parliamentary elections next Sunday, which of the parties listed below would you vote for?”, with “Law and Justice”.

interest_pol: expressed interest in politics. Specifically, answer to the question “How would you describe your interest in politics?” from “none” (0) to “very large” (4).

l_r: self-placement in a left-right scale, where 1 is “strongly left-wing” and 7 is “strongly right-wing”; answering the question “How would you describe your political views on a scale from 1 to 7, where 1 means strongly left-wing and 7 strongly right-wing views?”.

female: gender; if female, this dummy is equal to 1, otherwise 0.

age: age of the respondent.

edu: educational level. Specifically:

- 1 - Incomplete primary or no school education
- 2 - Basic
- 3 - Junior high school
- 4 - Basic vocational (also agricultural training school)
- 5 - General secondary without the matriculation exam
- 6 - General secondary with high school diploma
- 7 - Secondary vocational without high school diploma
- 8 - Secondary vocational with high school diploma (technical high school or vocational high school)
- 9 - Post-secondary
- 10 - Higher education with the title of engineer, bachelor, certified economist
- 11 - Higher education with a master's degree, doctorate or equivalent
- 12 - Higher education with doctorate or higher

town: size of town of residence, answer of the surveyor to “Please indicate the size of the respondent's place of residence”, from “village” (0) to “city above 500,000 residents” (6).

province: administrative unit of residence.

province_[...]: dummies for the variable “province”.

unemployed: if 1, the respondent responded “No” to the question: “Do you currently work outside the home?”

dissatisfaction: answer to the question “How do you assess the current material conditions of your household?” with “Good”, “rather good”, or “neither good nor bad” (0), “Rather bad” (1), “Bad” (2).

religiosity: answer to the question “Do you take part in religious practices, such as: masses, services or religious gatherings?” ranging from “I do not participate in them at all” (0) to “Yes, usually several times a week” (4).

waga: weights for representativeness.

v_acc: self-placement in a scale running 1 to 10, with higher numbers representing more agreement with the statement “Reforms will make governments more accountable and effective” in response to the vignette described above.

The following variables are the answer to the question:

There are many features that are desirable but not necessarily essential for a democracy. Several features are outlined below. Please tell me about each of them to what extent, in your opinion, it is crucial for democracy? Please put your rating on a scale where 1 means that this is not a key feature of democracy at all, and 10 means that it is a key feature of democracy.

With each variable referring to each feature.

d_tax_rich:

Government taxes the rich and supports the poor.

d_relig_auth

Religious authorities influence the interpretation of the law.

d_free_elec

Citizens elect their rulers by free elections.

d_allowance

Citizens who cannot find a job receive an allowance from the state.

d_military

In cases where the government lacks competence, the military seizes power.

d_civil_rights

Civil rights protect citizens from state repression.

d_equal_income

The state guarantees citizens equal income.

d_obey_rulers

Citizens obey rulers.

d_gender

Men and women enjoy the same rights.

d_military_bad

Inverted the values of “d_military” so that higher values refer to pro-democratic attitudes.

The following variables are the answer to the question:

Now we will introduce you to different types of political systems. Please tell me what you think of each of them as a way of governing our country? Do you think it is very good, rather good, rather bad or very bad?

With answers ranging from 1 to 4, higher numbers corresponding to more pro-democratic attitudes.

p_strong_leader

The country has a strong leader who does not have to reckon with the parliament and voters.

p_experts

The country is ruled by experts outside of the government.

p_military

The country is ruled by the military.

p_democracy

The country has a democratic political system.

[.]_ind: z-scores of the corresponding variables (written without “_ind”)

democracy_index: z-score of the average of z-scores

candidate: choice of candidate B in the conjoint experiment.

treatment: if equal to 0, the respondent saw in the conjoint experiment that candidate B is described with the following: “Wants to popularize participation in elections by opening polling stations both on Saturday and Sunday of the election weekend (currently the presidential and the Sejm and Senate elections are held only on Sundays)”, and 1 otherwise. See main text for details.

v_undem_fourgroups: grouping of “v_undem” into 4 groups: 1 (responses 1-3), 2 (responses 4-5), 3 (responses 6-8), 4 (responses 9-10).